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Cavour. VON WALTER FRIEDENSBURG. Erster Band. *Bis zur Berufung in das Ministerium, 1810-1850*. (Gotha: Friedrich Andreas Perthes A.-G. 1911. Pp. xi, 417.)

IT is noteworthy that the Germans, who have been indefatigable in producing historical monographs on almost all periods and persons, have neglected Cavour and the later Risorgimento. Nearly forty years have elapsed since Treitschke wrote his pithy essay, and Otto Speyer his pleasant narrative on Cavour, and Reuchlin's history, excellent at many points, especially when we remember that he produced it while the later events he describes were unfolding, dates from even farther back. Kraus's sketch is recent (1902), but it is hardly systematic enough to be classed among formal biographies. Perhaps the development of the unified German Empire on lines quite different from those which Cavour followed for the unification of Italy, may partly explain this neglect. So long as Bismarck lived, he not only absorbed the attention of his countrymen, but he seemed to them so *kolossal* as a state-builder that no other could be worth considering. Under the present Kaiser, also, absolutist ideals have been so popular, that it was hardly to be expected that the career of the greatest of European Liberals in the nineteenth century should be widely studied. Even Treitschke, despite his admiration for Cavour's genius, was too full of the then recent Prussian victories, not to let one infer that Cavour made an irreparable blunder in not being born a Prussian. We welcome, therefore, Dr. Friedensburg's biography; for whether it takes its place or not as an adequate life of Cavour, it will at least throw light on the opinions which learned Germans hold to-day on Cavour's work.

In his preface, Dr. Friedensburg tells us that this is the first half of the biography he has in view: and he brings the story down to Cavour's entry into the cabinet in October, 1850. This surprises us, for we cannot believe that the author, if he holds to the scale he has adopted, can possibly squeeze his account of the eleven years of Cavour's tremendous ministerial labors into a similar volume of 400 pages. Zanichelli, indeed, divided his summary very unequally; but his justification was that he aimed at showing exhaustively Cavour's political philosophy rather than at chronicling his concrete acts from day to day. We mention this at the outset, because it seems to us to reveal a defective sense of proportion—that quality which is indispensable to all true and lasting construction. Unless Dr. Friedensburg foreshortens or condenses, he will require three more volumes instead of one.

The reason his first volume is disproportionately long is obvious: he treats every topic as fully as every other, thereby paying his tribute to the German ideal of thoroughness. Thus in his chapter on Cavour's writings, he sometimes gives too elaborate details of their contents: for what is really essential in a work of this kind is to report Cavour's general views, or his original criticism—as in well-known passages in the essays on Pitt and on Ireland. So too, in the earlier chapters on

Cavour's formative period, instead of quoting bodily large sections from Chiala and from Berti, an historian more skilful in portraiture would have chosen a few brief but intensely characteristic elements. The same method overweights the narrative of parliamentary proceedings, where secondary and even tertiary matters are reported with a scrupulous exactness, that makes us wonder how Dr. Friedensburg can help being swamped when he comes to Cavour's fifty-two speeches on the commercial treaties. On the other hand, he dismisses Mazzini and the Young Italy propaganda so curtly that a reader who had not informed himself elsewhere would not understand why Mazzini was the voice of conscience to Italian patriots and the terror of European despots between 1831 and 1847.

As Dr. Friedensburg supplies no foot-notes or references, we cannot say what sources he has consulted; but so far as we have observed he has had access to nothing new. Indeed, we feel at times that he has not seen the printed Cavourian material of the last ten years, or familiarized himself with the large body of inedited recollections and opinions which acquaintance with the survivors of the great era might furnish. It is late in the day, for example, to state that the name of Cavour's *Inconnue* (Countess Anna Giustiniani) is unknown. Faldella gave a brief account of her in his *Fratelli Bandiera* at least fifteen years ago, and last year the newspapers of Genoa and Turin had biographical articles about her. So, too, in a substantial historical work, we expect to find the names stated of the persons to whom Cavour wrote the letters quoted. Instead of "a certain French lady", Dr. Friedensburg should say "Mme. de Circourt" (who was in fact a Russian). These points might seem trivial, were it not that they militate against the exactness which is the most important feature in the book.

We do not intend to minimize the value of this feature. We have devoted more space to the limitations, because after all the problem for Cavour's biographer is now architectonic and interpretative. A great mass of material exists; how to select and construct is the biographer's task. Dr. Friedensburg's ability to pack a mass of information into his pages is as apparent as his thoroughness. He evidently sympathizes with Cavour's Liberalism. His volume produces on us the impression not unlike that made by a Baedeker: only it lacks the stars and double stars by which even Baedeker recognizes that there are degrees of significance in the realm of facts. The frontispiece purports to be Cavour when about thirty years old; but it is so unlike the authentic portraits that either the artist who drew this never saw the original, or the publisher has by mistake substituted the profile of a German *Privatdozent* of 1840.

Francesco Crispi: I Mille. Da Documenti dell' Archivio Crispi. (Milan: Fratelli Treves. 1911. Pp. 409.)

THIS book, of which T. Palamenghi-Crispi is the author, contains some of the most important recent additions to the documents of the

Risorgimento. It is also significant as laying the foundations of a Crispi legend. The kinsman of the conspirator-politician leaves nothing undone here to prove that to Crispi, rather than to Cavour or to Garibaldi, was due the successful outcome of the events of 1860 which resulted in Italian unity. During his lifetime, the ruthless Sicilian was the target of unceasing accusations; yet he pushed himself on and up till he became prime minister. Then his enemies assailed him and drove him from office; but he rose again, and at his death, some ten years ago, although past fourscore, he was the most considerable political figure in Italy.

Bcati possidentes was a maxim which Bismarck, with whom Crispi had many affinities, was fond of quoting, and Crispi might have echoed it. For he outlived all the other leaders of the Golden Era of the Risorgimento, and, as prime minister, he had access to the records. That he allowed papers that might incriminate himself to remain in the archives at Turin, for future historians to unearth, is not believed in Italy. Conversely, that he had made provision for his rehabilitation at the bar of history, cannot be doubted. Even before his death he furnished the unreliable Stillman with the material for an indiscriminate eulogy; and now Signor Palamenghi-Crispi stops little short of idolatry. Nevertheless, his book contains much original matter and must be treated seriously.

The first chapters describe piecemeal Crispi's exile from 1849 to 1859. No mention is made, however, of the charge revived recently by Orsini's accomplice, Di Rudio, that Crispi threw one of the three bombs at Napoleon III. in 1858. The real interest of the narrative begins with the autumn of 1859, when, as Mazzini's agent, he went incognito to Sicily to prepare a revolt. During the following spring he worked with great energy to make ready the expedition which Garibaldi was to captain. In Bertani, Bixio, and Medici he had untiring colleagues. But the plan hung fire. Garibaldi, too canny to be involved in a Mazzinian fiasco, held back. Crispi has always claimed, and the claim is repeated here, that he alone persuaded Garibaldi to go. Guerzoni, Garibaldi's best biographer, denies that any one person had the right to monopolize the credit; yet all agree that it was the production by Crispi of a telegram purporting to bring favorable news from Sicily that clinched Garibaldi's decision. It is commonly believed that Crispi forged the telegram, but his present biographer throws no light on this mystery.

Now follows the body of the work, in which, in the course of 300 pages, we have, from the Crispian point of view, an account of the Garibaldian liberation of Sicily and Naples. Crispi's diary of the voyage to Marsala, if he did not touch it up in after days, is a document of the first importance; and scarcely less noteworthy to the historian are various inedited letters and documents which emanated from him and his friends during that stormy summer. They confirm what we already knew, that is, that in political matters Garibaldi was a child; that he left the government in Crispi's hands; that Crispi displayed unusual

capacity and a tigrine ruthlessness; and that to him, more than to any other individual, was due the postponement of the annexation of Sicily to Piedmont and the kindling of feuds which crackle still in his biographer's pages. Many historians now concede that Garibaldi's refusal to annex Sicily in June or July was wise, but only blind partizans attempt to defend the further delay.

Signor Palamenghi's method of proving Crispi's transcendent genius is to vilify Cavour, and not merely to vilify, but to make him out incompetent, petty, and often idiotic. Such a method of course defeats its object and exposes the animus of its author. You may hold what views you will of their policy and character, but if you attempt to dismiss the Bismarcks and Cavour's of history as puerile, you cannot command respect. The fatal flaw in this biography is that it is written from the 1860 point of view. The charges and calumnies which then flew to and fro from among party spokesmen are not investigated. The immense volume of testimony which has been printed since is not treated critically. The best motive that Signor Palamenghi can allege for Cavour's policy of controlling the revolutionary movement is that he was jealous of Garibaldi's popularity and fearful of being turned out of office! So this book, except for its documents, has slight value as history, although it perpetuates for a later generation the venom which was too large an ingredient of the Garibaldian exploit. Readers of the Marios, of Mazzini, of Pianciani, of Bertani, and of Crispi himself in his earlier phase do not need to be told afresh what that venom was. After granting the amplest honors to Crispi and Bertani for the good they accomplished in 1860, we must still hold them responsible for the evil, which sprang directly from their implacable and fanatic natures. If an American writer should rake up Horace Greeley's diatribes against Lincoln in 1862, and should set them forth without the correction which subsequent events and evidence furnish, he would produce just such a portrait of Lincoln as Signor Palamenghi draws of Cavour. As for Francesco Crispi, the halo here assigned him renders him almost unrecognizable. Like Stanton, he did much important work; but he did it fiercely, remorselessly, and often in a spirit in which personal love of power rather than patriotism seemed to guide him. Halos do not fit such men.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Bayern im Jahre 1866 und die Berufung des Fürsten Hohenlohe.

Eine Studie von KARL ALEXANDER VON MÜLLER. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1909. Pp. xvi, 292.)

La Restauration de l'Empire Allemand: le Rôle de la Bavière. Par A. DE RUVILLE, Professeur à l'Université de Halle. Traduit de l'Allemand par M. PIERRE ALBIN. Avec une introduction sur les Papiers de Cerçay et le Secret des Correspondances Diplomatiques par M. JOSEPH REINACH. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1911. Pp. xxxii, 327.)